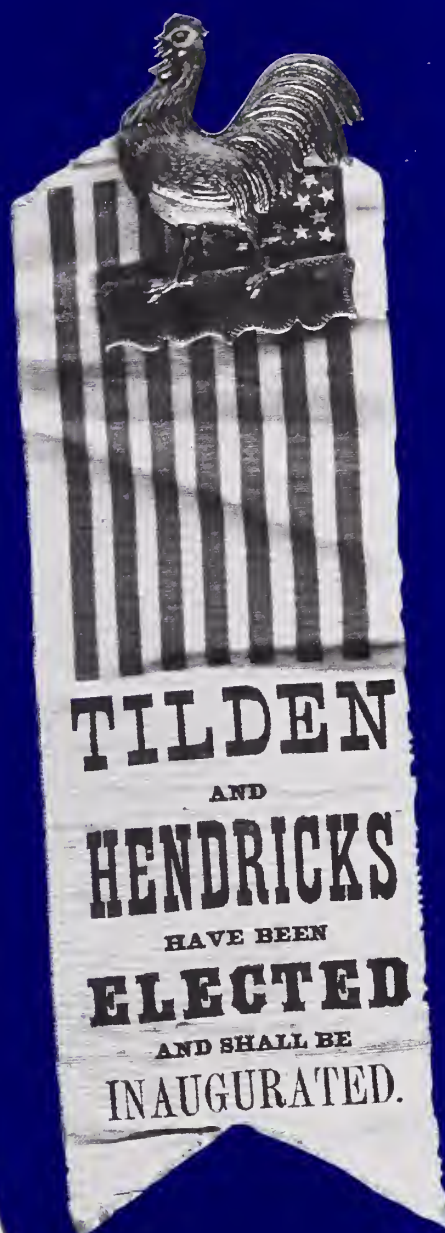
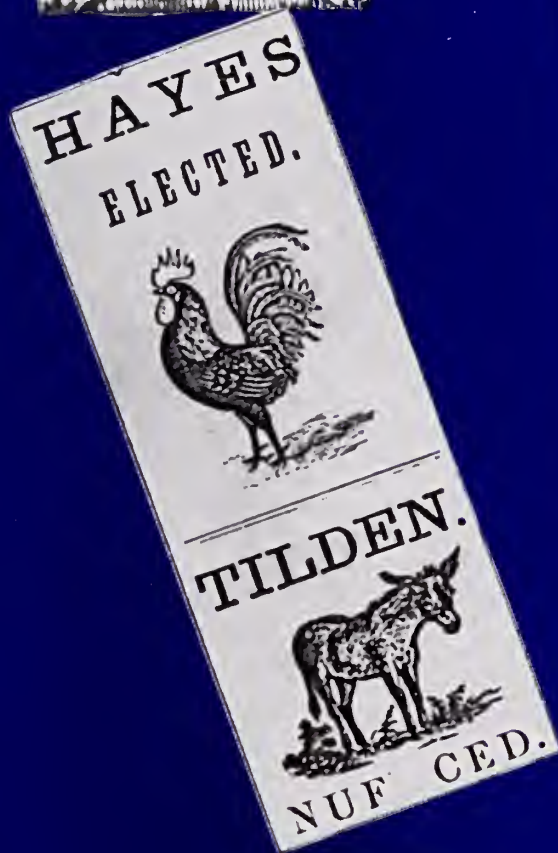




THE KEYNOTER



Tilden vs. Hayes: The Election of 1876

APIC Interview: Pete McCloskey for President
Eleanor Roosevelt and Apple Mary • Willkie-Cooke Coattail

Editor's Message

Here's a landmark: Ronald Reagan, who was born on February 6, 1911, recently earned the distinction of having lived longer than any other U.S. president. Reagan eclipsed the record held by the nation's second chief executive, John Adams.

It is interesting that the two most popular presidents in the post-World War II era – John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan – were such a contrast. Democrat Kennedy was the youngest man elected president and served less than two years: Republican Reagan was the oldest man to serve as president and served a full eight years.

Both JFK and RR were wildly popular in their day and were succeeded by their vice presidents, who ran for terms of their own promising to maintain the legacies of their predecessors. Both VPs won once but were defeated for re-election (Lyndon Johnson quit during the primaries, George Bush lost the general election).

The Kennedy legacy has been adapted for current needs. Although John Kennedy was a moderate, perhaps even conservative, Democrat and a strong Cold Warrior (he attacked Nixon in 1960 for not being tough enough on the Communists), his admirers have posthumously reshaped him as left-wing icon and insisted that he would have opposed the Vietnam War if he had lived longer. Perhaps we will someday see moderate Republicans citing Reagan as an example against right-wingers in their party. That happened to Barry Goldwater, the hard-right hero of 1964, who lived to be an inspiration to the libertarians and moderates in his party.

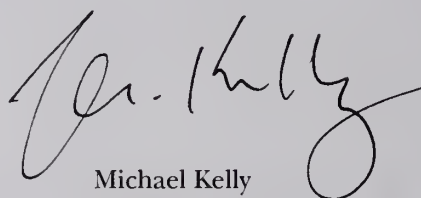
The old saw that "politics makes strange bedfellows" applies to political historians too.

ERRATA

A couple of items from previous issues need a second look.

Former APIC President Neil Machander wrote to comment on Steve Baxley's Teapot Dome button pictured on page 31 of the Fall 2001 issue (Volume 2001, Number 3). Steve had described the button as a John Davis item but Neil suspects that the button may have been issued by Robert LaFollette's Progressive Party or even another minor party. We know that William Z. Foster's Workers Party (Communist) issued a Teapot Dome button. Perhaps this item has a more exotic lineage as well.

In the Winter 2001 issue (Volume 2001, Number 3) an unlikely confusion occurred between Pat Robertson and Pat Nixon. On page 30, a small button reads, "Ask Me About Pat." It was sent to us by the Library and Archives of New Hampshire's Political Tradition as a 1988 Pat Robertson button. Closer examination, however, would indicate that it is a 1960 item boosting Richard Nixon's wife, Pat. There were a variety of "Pat for First Lady" buttons in 1960 and, when asked to check it again, the Library and Archives of New Hampshire's Political Tradition noted that the button had writing on its edge that said, "Bastian Bros. Co., Rochester, NY." Bastian Brothers was a high-quality company still active in 1960 that was inactive by 1988. Several APIC members pointed that out to us, starting with Larry Brokofsky.



Michael Kelly
Editor

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Membership Information: applications may be obtained by writing to the Secretary-Treasurer at: P.O. Box 1149, Cibolo, TX 78108, Telephone: (210) 945-2811.
APIC NEWSLETTER AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS: Harvey Goldberg, Editor, P.O. Box 922, Clark, NJ 07066.



All correspondence about
content should be addressed to:

Editor

Michael Kelly
1901 Montclair Avenue
Flint, MI 48503
[Email: mkelly@mcc.edu]

All correspondence about
mailing and copies
should be addressed to:

Publisher

Joe Hayes
P.O. Box 1149
Cibola, TX 78108
[Email: apic@texas.net]

Associate Editor

Robert Fratkin

Contributing Editors

Steve Baxley
Stephen Cresswell
David Frent

Editorial Board

Robert Fratkin
Harvey Goldberg
Michael Kelly
Brian Krapf
Edmund Sullivan

Contributors

Bruce Colton
Robert Fratkin
Richard Rector
Al Salter

Support Services

Germaine Broussard
Kay Sampson Kelly

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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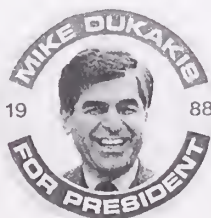
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Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Al Anderson, Gary Cohen, Bruce Colton, Mike Dec, Dick Fenno, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, David and Janice Frent, John Gingerich, Ben Gutterly, Ted Hake, Library and Archives of New Hampshire's Political Tradition, Library of Congress, Skip Morgan, Richard Rector, Al Salter, Tom Slater and Ed Sullivan.

Covers: Front: An assortment of items from the 1876 campaign, including conflicting ribbons claiming victory for opposing candidates. **Back:** The Grand National Banners for the 1876 Republican Hayes and Wheeler ticket and Democratic Tilden and Hendricks ticket.



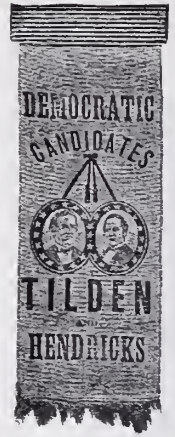
IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Election of 1988 will be featured, including an APIC interview with Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis, plus FDR clocks and other stories.



“Tilden or Blood!” The Election of 1876

By Michael Kelly



When the fate of the Republic dangled by a hanging chad in November 2000, media pundits drew frequent parallels with the disputed presidential election of 1876. Most of what appeared in the media revealed only a casual acquaintance with the facts and genuine uncertainty marking the 1876 election.

The Election of 1876 was hailed as “the centennial election” because it took place one century after the Declaration of Independence. Republicans went into the election holding the Presidency with Civil War hero U.S. Grant finishing his second term. The Grant administration had not been a happy one, undermined by the corruption common after wartime and a fierce battle by white Southerners to regain control over their black former slaves. Facing popular disgust over government corruption, both parties nominated austere governors known for personal integrity: Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden of New York.

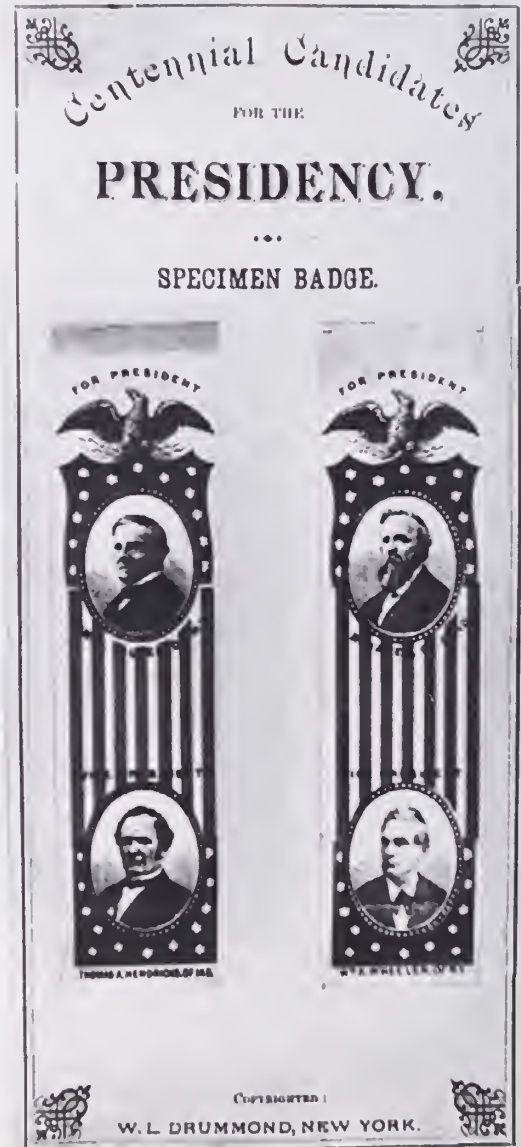
Hayes volunteered for the Army infantry when the Civil War began and rose to the rank of major general as a result of his bravery in combat. Admiring homefolk elected Hayes to Congress in 1864 while he was still in the Army, despite his refusal to campaign. He declined to take his congressional seat until the Union had won the war. Congressman Hayes was reelected in 1866 and the following year was elected governor of Ohio. He voluntarily stepped down at the close of his second term in 1872 but was elected to a third term in 1875.

Tilden’s political career started long before that of Hayes. The New Yorker was an eminently successful lawyer, with many railroad companies as clients. He became a strong partisan of Martin Van Buren in New York Democratic politics but, unlike other Free-Soil Democrats of the 1850s, did not join the new Republican Party and later disapproved of the Civil War. He served as state Democratic chairman and had a touchy relationship with New York City’s Tammany Hall machine, needing its support in elections but disgusted with its corruption. Tilden was elected governor of New York in 1874 and built a reputation for reform by his successful attacks on the corrupt “Canal ring.”

But political necessity meant that Tilden had to be somewhat selective about where he attacked corruption, especially when it involved Tammany Hall. *The New York Times* criticized Tilden on the reform issue: “Mr. Tilden was throughout this period as quiet as a mouse, or, if he did appear anywhere in public, it was generally in a position

which led people to suppose that he was on the side of the Tweed gang.” Nonetheless, both Tilden and Hayes were widely recognized as honest politicians.

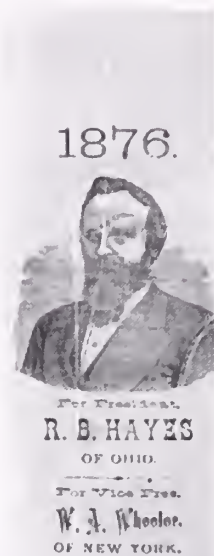
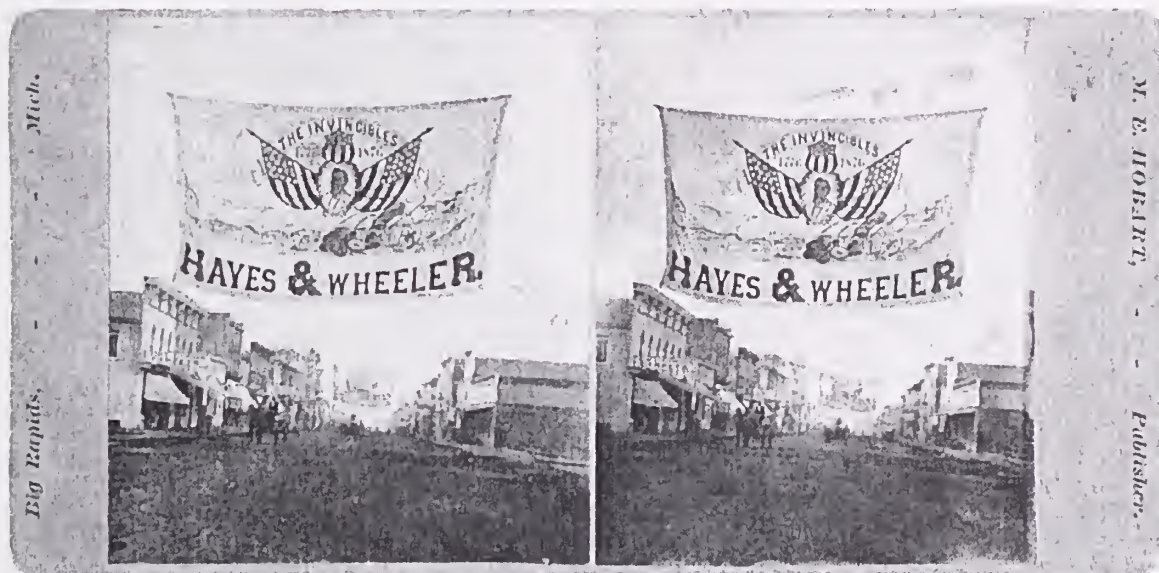
The most profound – and difficult – issue facing the nation in 1876 was what to do about race relations in the South. Barely a decade had passed since the Civil War. The South was struggling to recover from the destruction of its



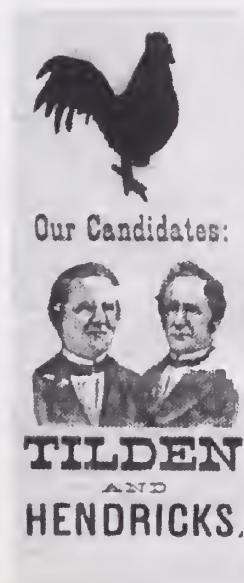
Badge salesman’s display card from 1876.



Above: Two Thomas Nast cartoons on the theme of "Tilden or Blood!"



Two stereoview cards showing street banners from 1876.



economic structure and the white population was aggressively moving to suppress the black population by economic and physical intimidation, including the raw violence of arson, murder and lynching.

In his letter accepting the Republican nomination, Hayes wrote: "The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union. In their progressive recovery from the effects of the war, their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of the government, which will protect all classes of citizens in all their political and private rights. What the South most needs is peace, and peace depends upon the supremacy of law. There can be no enduring peace, if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded..."

The election of 1876 was a hard fought contest. As each vote would be important, the vigorous campaign produced a plethora of handsome items, including badges, ribbons and medallions. In the South, violence was widespread as the Ku Klux Klan, the White League and other groups moved to suppress black voting. When the election results came in, Tilden moved into a narrow lead over Hayes. Hayes looked at the early results, assumed he had lost and went to bed.

At the Republican National Committee, however, a key Republican activist wasn't giving up. Daniel Sickles telegraphed leading Republicans in South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, and Oregon with this message: "With your state sure for Hayes, he is elected. Hold your state." Early the next morning, encouraging answers had arrived from South Carolina and Oregon. *The New York Times* also refused to believe that Hayes had lost. The *Times* first edition proclaimed the election "doubtful" while the second edition projected victory for Hayes if he could carry Florida.

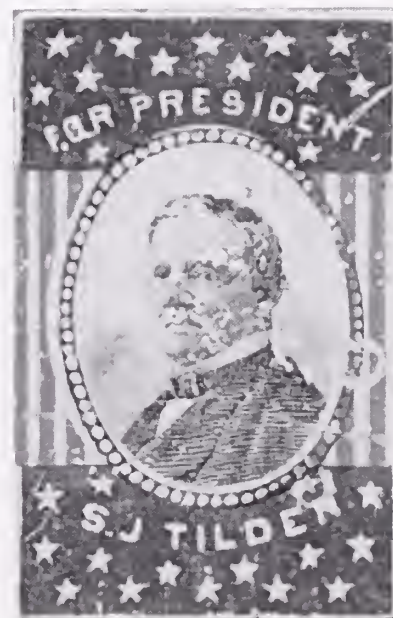
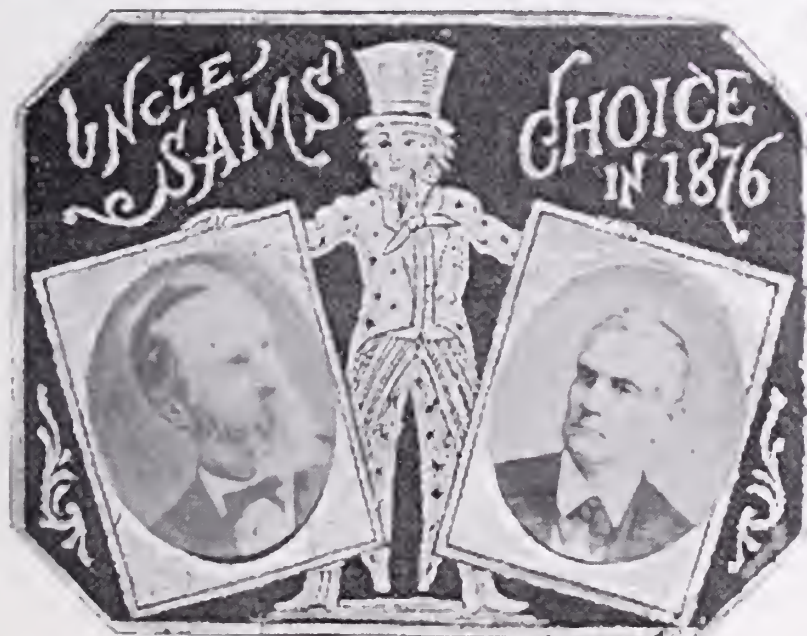
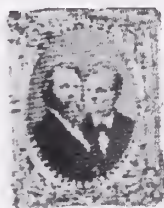
James G. Blaine (a strong Republican partisan) made the case thus:



The torchlight parade was still a major feature of campaigns in 1876. These items all reflect the torchlight parade. Top: an illuminated lantern picturing Hayes. Below: a print from the era showing the "Procession of the Boys in Blue" for Hayes. Left: a handsome button picturing a marcher. The "Boys in Blue" were veterans who had fought for the Union in the Civil War and were a key part of the Republican coalition.



PROCESSION OF THE BOYS IN BLUE



"The states in doubt were those in which Republican victory was from the first possible if not probable. In South Carolina and Louisiana, not only was there a considerable number of white Republicans, but in each state the colored men (who were unanimously Republican) outnumbered all the white men. The disparity in South Carolina was so great that the white population was but 289,000 while the colored population was 415,000. In Florida the two races were nearly equal in number; and owing to a large influx of white settlers from the North the Republicans were in a decided majority..."

Twenty-two critical electoral votes were disputed in Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon. Hayes needed all 22 votes to win a majority in the Electoral College. Tilden needed only one. Local officials in each disputed state sent two conflicting sets of election returns to Congress. In the three southern states, Republican election boards disqualified enough Democratic votes to certify Hayes the winner. In Oregon, the Democratic governor disqualified a Republican elector and replaced him with a Democrat.

Democrats were outraged and claimed fraud. Cries of "Tilden or Blood!" were in the air and the same Democratic "rifle clubs" that had kept black voters away from the polls promised to march on Washington if Tilden weren't inaugurated. Republicans were less vocal but President Grant mobilized federal troops at key points throughout the South. Since the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives Democratic, it seemed useless to refer the disputed returns to Congress for resolution.

Weeks passed without a conclusion. Finally, Congress appointed an Electoral Commission with five representatives each from the Senate, the House, and the Supreme Court. The Senate delegation had a 3-2 Republican majori-

ty and the House delegation a 3-2 Democratic majority. The Supreme Court delegation consisted of two Republican justices and two Democratic justices with the last justice to be named later. That gave the Commission seven members from each party with one vacancy to be named by the other four Supreme Court justices. They picked a Republican who favored Tilden but he switched to Hayes with the result that the Commission gave the election to Hayes by voting 8 to 7 on party lines.


Southern Democrats in Congress, more concerned with local control than federal patronage, cut a backroom deal that ended Reconstruction by removing federal troops from the South, a deal that became known as the Compromise of 1877. In a speech to the Manhattan Club, Samuel Tilden conceded the election: "If my voice could reach throughout our country and be heard in its remotest hamlet I would say. 'Be of good cheer. The Republic will live. The institutions of our fathers are not to expire in shame.'"

Because of the tension surrounding his election, Rutherford B. Hayes secretly took the oath of office on Saturday, March 3, 1877, in the Red Room of the White House. He served one term that was widely acknowledged to have been competent and successful (except for the notable betrayal of black citizens when federal troops were pulled out of the South). He stepped down without seeking re-election in 1880, to be succeeded by fellow Ohio Republican James Garfield.

Not much of this story was told during the Fall of 2000 as election officials squinted at dimpled chads in Florida and the nation waited to learn who would be the new president. One tremendous difference between 1876 and 2000, however, was that no one was heard calling for "Gore or Blood!"★



Two illustrations from the pro-Republican Harper's Weekly. The cover shows Hayes taking the oath of office. The Nast cartoon inside shows a battered Republican Party quoting the ancient general Pyrrhus, whose victories were so costly that he said, "Another such victory and I am undone."



Yours truly,
Samuel J. Tilden

TILDEN AND REFORM

Reduction of Taxation
—AND—
Honest Administration of the Government.

As Governor of New York, SAMUEL J. TILDEN reduced taxation and expenditures one-half; as President he will do the same for the United States.

Tilden carried New York by 50,317, the largest majority she ever gave to any Democrat.



"Tilden and Reform!"

Government corruption and stopping federal intervention in the old Confederacy to defend black voting rights were neatly combined in Democratic calls for "Tilden and Reform." Political cartoonist Thomas Nast had a cynical view of what "reform" really meant. In this cartoon, Tilden is quoted as saying "It is not I, but the idea of Reform which I represent." Nast places Tilden in front of the corpses of murdered African-Americans who had been "reformed."

**BE STRONG!
BE COURAGEOUS!**

For President,



PETER COOPER.

National Prosperity cannot be restored by enforcing silence on a large portion of people.
PETER COOPER.

PETER COOPER, the FRIEND of the Working Man, the PROTECTOR of the Poor and Distressed.

1776 **1876**

THE BANK OF BREAD.

PAY TO THE ORDER OF
OWN LABOR, FOR AN

THREE DOLLARS

YOURSELF BY YOUR
HONEST DAYS WORK.

By Voting for Cooper & Cary, and against National Banks, Unlaxed Bondholders and Monopolists.

Independent Greenback Party.

THE LORD IS WITH THE RIGHT

For V. President,



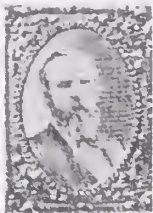
SAM'L F. CARY.

No Nation can exist with an untaxed minority in its midst.
SAM'L F. CARY.

Peter Cooper and the Greenback Party

With wounds from the Civil War still raw and the two major parties in close balance, there was little room for minor parties. The only notable minor party in 1876 was the Greenback Party, which nominated Peter Cooper, an inventor, industrialist, and philanthropist. Cooper achieved success in business, and went on to experiment in both industrial and social engineering. He built one of the earliest locomotives, was a key figure in laying the transatlantic telegraph cable, and led the fight to secure public schools in New York City. As the first presidential candidate of the Greenback Party, Cooper won 81,737 votes and laid the groundwork for the Greenback Party peak in 1878 when it elected 14 congressmen. The Greenback Party fielded James Weaver in 1880 and Benjamin Butler in 1884 but then faded away. The Cooper Union Building in New York City still stands as a lasting monument to Peter Cooper.





Hayes in Ohio

By Albert Salter

Rutherford B. Hayes ("The First Man Florida Made President") became President of The United States in 1877 after a special commission of 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats who voted along party lines, gave Hayes the disputed electoral ballots cast in Florida, South Carolina, Oregon and Louisiana. This meant Hayes received 185 votes and Samuel Tilden of New York, who had won the popular vote, received 184. There were widely-spread rumors that Hayes had made a deal to withdraw Federal troops from the South and end the Reconstruction period in return for the votes in question.

A Harvard law school graduate, Hayes had moved to Cincinnati in 1849 to practice law, and in 1857 he was elected Cincinnati City Solicitor. Called to colors and wounded as a Union officer, Hayes was nominated for a seat in the U.S. House in 1864. He refused to leave his post and campaign, but after his election in 1865 he resigned from the army and went to Washington.

He then left his House seat to become governor in 1868, surviving a scurrilous campaign with his opponent, future U.S. Senator and vice presidential candidate Judge Allen Thurman. In my collection is a palm card contrasting Thurman with a Negro who represents Hayes. The back of a card reads in part, "White Men of Ohio - Examine The Record. General Hayes wants to give the Nigger the right to vote and to sit on juries and hold office, and is in favor of nigger wool, but voted against protecting the wool growers of Ohio..."

My collection also holds a printed announcement of Hayes as a new attorney at law in Cincinnati, and an 1864 Union ballot paper ribbon with "For Congress - Rutherford B. Hayes" on the ticket.

After serving as governor to 1872, Hayes failed in his effort to return to Congress, but was elected again as governor in 1875, serving until March 2, 1877, two days before his inauguration as president.

Author's note: As I am presently doing research on the subject of early memorabilia of national nominees, I'd appreciate knowing of such artifacts in your collection. If you can send me a Xerox copy of any such piece for any nominee with as much information on the item as possible, I will see that you receive appropriate credit if the piece is shown in this series. My address is in your APIC Directory. Thank you.★

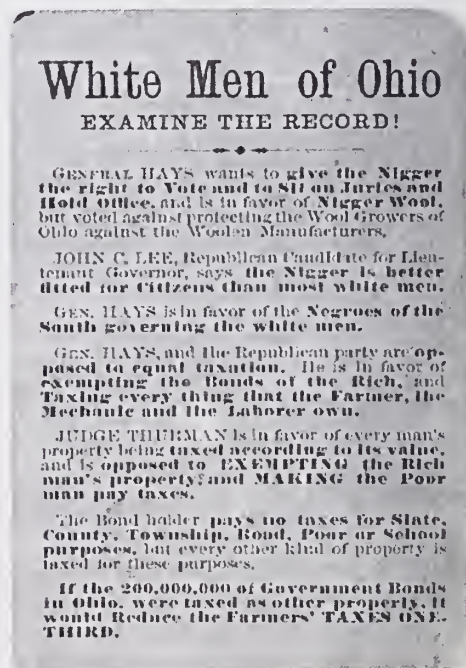
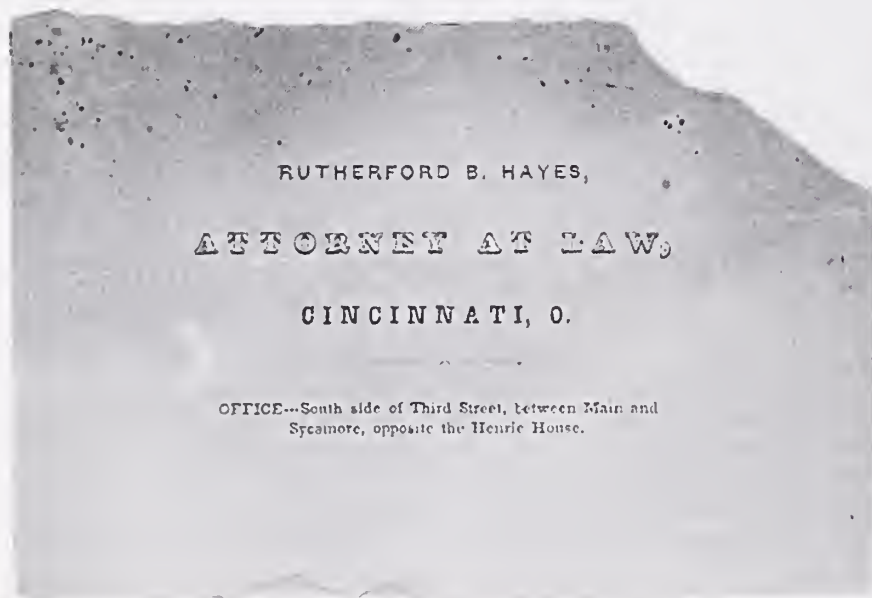
The Two Platforms.



THURMAN'S
Platform is for the WHITE MAN.



HAYES'
Platform is for the NEGRO.



Hamilton County Ohio Union-Ticket.



Staats-Ticket.

Für Supreme Richter:
(Volter Termin.)

Rutber Day.
(Für Vacanzen.)

Vange Baran,
William White.
Hurle Baran.

Horace Wilder.

Für Staats-Sekretär:

William Henry Smith.

Für General Staats-Anwalt:

William W. Richardson.

Für Schatzkammer-Controllent:

Moses H. Brailen.

Für Beirat der öffentlichen Werke:

(Volter Termin.)

Philip Gerzeng.

(Für Baran.)

James Moore.

County-Ticket.

Zweiter District,

Bestehend aus den Parzellen 6, 8, 10, 11, 12 und 16,
von Cincinnati, den Townships 7 und 8,
Island View, Clark, Tiffin, Moor, Port
Carrington, und Grange, den Corporationen
Stanton, Carlton und Glenale, und den ver-
einigten, Kantonale und Pächter-Gemeinschaft von Wil-
son Township.

Für Congreg:

Rutherford B. Hayes.

Für Senator:

Joshua H. Bates.

Für Sheriff:

Richard Galvin.

Für Auditor:

Stephen W. Sicken.

Für Staats-Anwalt:

William H. Herr.

Für Recorder:

John C. Nees.

Für County-Commissäre:

Gaspar Weiss (langer Termin.)

Geo. W. Fitzgerald (kurzer Termin.)

Für Armenhaus-Direktor:

Joseph G. Beart.

Für Coroner:

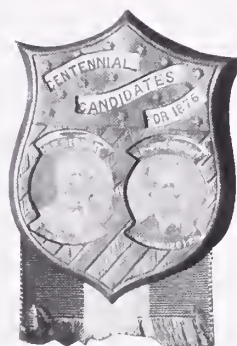
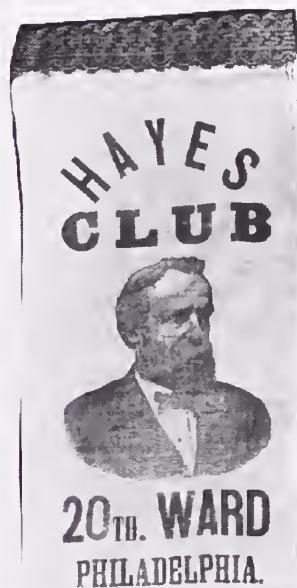
Milton T. Caren.



TILDEN CLUB



CLEVELAND, O.



Above: A paper ballot from one of Hayes' campaigns for Congress. Note that the ballot is printed in German. So many voters were native German-speakers that ballots and political literature often appeared in that language, just as Spanish is often used today.



Collecting History: Eleanor and Apple Mary

By Robert Fratkin



Part of the fun of collecting history is in looking for items that you are sure exist, that reflect important activities or events, but that you have never been able to find. This is the story that got me looking for one of these bits of history.

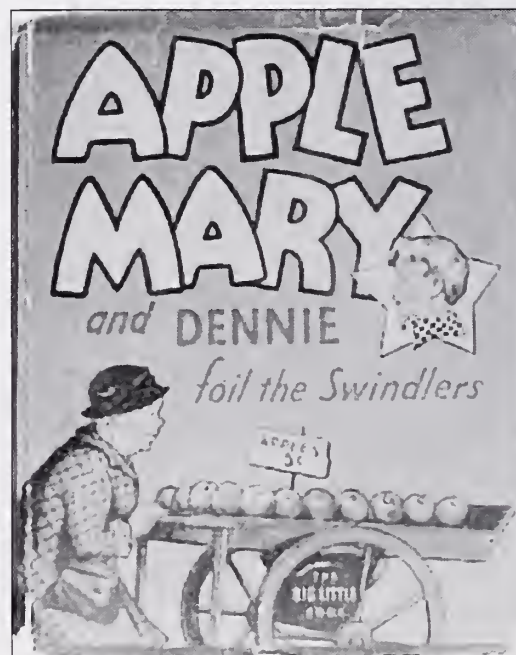
In 1960, John Kennedy was running for the Democratic presidential nomination. His major opponent in the mostly Northern primaries was Hubert Humphrey. The early strong showings by Kennedy came in states with sizable Catholic populations. But JFK and his advisors knew that he needed to win in a predominantly Protestant state away from New England to prove that he could be elected nationally. That state would have to be West Virginia, the next primary. But two weeks before the election date, Kennedy's polls didn't look encouraging. Charlie Peters, now publisher of *The Washington Monthly*, was an advance man for Kennedy in West Virginia. One afternoon, as Peters was talking to a local man, the man proudly pointed across the street and said, "That's where Mrs. Roosevelt stood."

Peters was surprised that Eleanor Roosevelt had been in West Virginia recently and he hadn't heard about it, particularly as she was considered to favor a third run for Adlai Stevenson. When asked about this, the man quickly made it clear that he was talking about her visit to the town in 1936. Thinking over what he had learned, Peters phoned the Kennedy team and convinced them to bring in Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. for a series of campaign appearances before the primary. From the moment FDR Jr. first appeared, the polling numbers went up, and the rest, as they say, is history.

We know that during the FDR presidency, the First Lady traveled extensively around the country, acting as the President's "eyes and ears," paying particular attention to the working poor and the needy, two groups that West Virginia had in abundance. Even though her trips were described as "non-political," I am sure her presence was viewed favorably by many of the electorate who came out to see her in person. But with all these trips, where were the buttons, ribbons and badges that you would expect to be produced? I had never found an item for a campaign year visit until the recent Tom Slater auction. This is a 1 1/4" blue on white celluloid made for a 1936 visit by Mrs. Roosevelt to four counties in Indiana.

One of America's unique contributions to the world's culture is the daily continuous story comic strip, at least a few of which appear today in almost every daily newspaper with the notable exception of *The New York Times*. Each of these serial stories started with an idea, and developed a personality of its own. Some have characters that never age from "Alley Oop" to "Apartment 3G." Others, such as "Gasoline Alley," have characters that mature, have children and even grand-

children. Some are political, such as the strongly anti-New Deal "Little Orphan Annie," drawn by Chester Gray and the liberal Gary Trudeau's "Doonesbury." Some even started as part of an historical event. One of these is now known as "Mary Worth." Mary Worth first appeared in the depths of the depression, when impoverished but proud people didn't beg, but stood on busy urban street corners selling apples. The premise was simple. This pleasant older woman was an apple seller in a large city, and became involved in solving the never-ending problems of her many customers. But it was years before she became Mrs. Worth. In the early thirties, she and her comic strip were known simply as "Apple Mary." In the 1936 Big Little Book, *Apple Mary and Dennie Foil the Swindlers*, an early paragraph sets the stage: "Apple Mary and her cart, filled with big, red apples, were a familiar site on the busy city street. Mary was poorly dressed, but she had known better times and at heart was a real lady." Dennie was "her crippled grandson," whom she supported through her apple sales, a touch that emphasized her dignity in spite of her present poverty. Unlike almost all strips of the period, Apple Mary was written by a woman, Martha Orr. I had heard this historical footnote years ago, but had never seen an Apple Mary item. So, I was pleasantly surprised to find this button, which Ted Hake says is the only button version he knows, and then recently this Big Little Book—and that, as they say, is the rest of the story.★



PROFILES IN DEED

The APIC Hall of Fame: Joseph W. Fuld APIC #1

By Albert Salter

APIC has honored a select handful of its members with induction into the APIC Hall of Fame. This distinction is awarded those who have made exemplary contributions to the understanding, appreciation, and interest in the collection and preservation of political memorabilia, and to the maintenance and growth of the APIC organization.

When the Hall of Fame was introduced at the Hartford National Convention in 1976, the first inductees were ten prime movers and founders responsible for the benefits of membership we all now enjoy. One of those ten was Joseph Fuld.

Joseph Fuld, born October 27, 1878, in Placerville, Idaho was named first President of what would become the American Political Items Collectors. It was March, 1945. His #1 APIC designation says it all.

Starting about 1940 a small group of political memorabilia collectors, most notably John Barkley of Ohio and Monroe D. Ray of New York, corresponded and considered formally organizing themselves as collectors of political artifacts. It was Ray in 1945 who sent letters to Fuld, M.J. Hruska of Ohio, Lewis Foster of Pennsylvania, and Walter Sanders of Illinois, suggesting the name, National Political Items Collectors. From this group, Joe Fuld was selected as president while Ray accepted the office of secretary-treasurer. Fuld, who later suggested that the organization's name be changed to American Political Items Collectors, served as president until 1960, and was then named President Emeritus of the "new" APIC re-organized by Chick Harris.

Joe started collecting political memorabilia as a teenager. In 1891, his family had moved to Hailey, Idaho, where his father opened a store to serve the small mining community.

Five years later, in the first presidential campaign of what collectors now call the beginning of the "modern era," Joe Fuld was attracted to the colorful celluloid-covered political buttons distributed by campaign workers, and the "Goldbugs" which sold in stores for 25 cents.

Joe's father's first vote had been for Abraham Lincoln, and Joe's first vote was cast for William McKinley in 1900, carrying on the family's Republican tradition. Joe saved buttons from that campaign and from every presidential campaign that followed as long as he lived. Eventually the collection would also contain earlier pieces from Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Lincoln, and other 19th and early 20th century candidates whose material is rare and elusive today.

A self-starter, Joe was operating his own haberdashery store when he was only twenty, and in 1910 he was appointed postmaster of Hailey. He ran the post office out of the back of his store.

Once the new Wilson Democratic Party administration called for his resignation, Joe entered the title abstract business that his father had started by that time, and eventually added real estate and insurance as part of the company's services.

In the 1930s he became a dedicated Rotarian, serving as District Governor of Rotary International. He also was elected to two terms in the Idaho State Legislature, and attended national political conventions on a regular basis.

Later, Joe helped sponsor the creation of the Blaine County Museum in Hailey, and donated his political collection to be placed on permanent display. Today that collection is presented in three large glass cases, and along a 20ft wall. An Idaho Humanities Council Grant in 1996 and additional funds from the Rotary Club have been used to preserve and protect the collection in an acid free, sun free environment.

Having recently been brought into the digitized world, the museum is just now able to inventory the more than 5000 pieces of Fuld's collection from tintypes of "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" to a baseball cap with the slogan, "Nelse, Who Else?"

Joe Fuld passed away December 11, 1968, and was among the first to be inducted into the APIC Hall of Fame in 1974.★



Please let me hear from you if you have any information on APIC Hall of Fame inductees you feel should be included in "Profiles in Deed." Email: jasalter@intrepid.net, or find my mailing address in the APIC directory.

*For further information see
Bibler, Stephen H, "Joseph W. Fuld, APIC #1," The Keynoter, Spring, 1969*

Sullivan, Ed "American Political Items Collectors - The First Fifty" The Keynoter, Summer, 1995

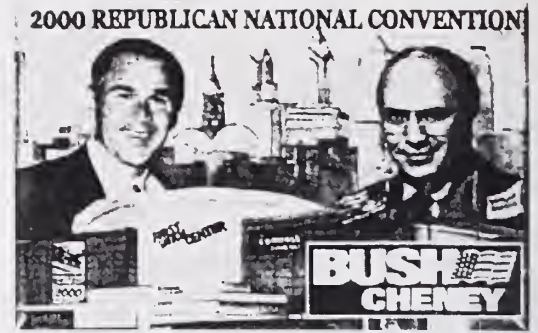
Warren, D.E. "At Your Leasure," Rotarian Magazine, 1962, as provided by the Blaine County Museum.

A special thanks to Mrs. Teddie Daley of the Blaine County Museum for supplying the above photo of Joseph Fuld, as well as information on his collection.

CONVENTION NOTES:

Philadelphia 2000

By Bruce Colton



In the spring of 2000, I was elected as a John McCain delegate to the Republican National Convention from the 2nd congressional district in western Massachusetts. This was the second convention I have attended. I was also elected as an alternate delegate (for George Bush) at the 1980 Republican National Convention in Detroit.

At the Detroit convention, the Massachusetts delegation was housed miles out into the hinterland in Plymouth, Michigan. (The location reflected the convention organizer's sense of humor.) Last year, in Philadelphia, the Massachusetts delegation was at the center of things – we were housed in George W. Bush's downtown headquarters hotel.

Contrasts between the conventions were immediately apparent. The first involved security. While neither convention featured an incumbent president, the security at the 2000 convention was far tighter than that at the 1980 convention.

The increased security became apparent as soon as my cab pulled up to the block where the Wyndham Franklin Plaza, the Massachusetts delegation's hotel, was located. A group of Secret Service agents swarmed around the cab

and demanded to see my credentials. I explained that, because I was only arriving, I didn't yet have any credentials – they were probably inside the hotel. Luckily, my name was on their list, and after ascertaining that my face matched the picture on my Massachusetts drivers license, my cab was allowed to enter the hotel's driveway.

While I was aware that the Bush headquarters was at the Wyndham Franklin Plaza, the implications of that fact didn't sink in until my arrival. There were Secret Service agents about every twenty feet throughout the hotel. We were required to wear Massachusetts and hotel security passes at all times! Pedestrians were not even allowed on the same block as the hotel without the proper credentials.

On the other hand, we did feel quite secure and after the Secret Service agents learned to recognize us, they were much less imposing. They even greeted us with a friendly "Welcome Home" when we'd disembark from our shuttle buses at midnight.

The security at the First Union Center was intense. The bottoms of the shuttle buses were checked for bombs with mirrors and flashlights on poles before the buses were allowed to enter the convention center's parking lot. (The joke among the delegates was that the guards were checking for Democrats.) Once off the buses, delegates had to pass through metal detectors. This was standard enough – though they didn't have them at the 1980 convention – but anyone carrying bags or, heaven forbid, a camera was subject to extraordinary scrutiny. Jokes about "body cavity searches" were rife among the delegates.

Most of the convention site security was composed of volunteers. Later in the convention, I actually watched one of them demand credentials from Henry Kissinger before she would let him in the First Union Center! When I asked her about this – I was in line behind the former Secretary of State – she said, "I check everybody."

By the way, delegates were not allowed to bring posters or signs into the convention hall. The multitude of hand-lettered signs being waved by the delegates had been produced and placed on the delegation seats by convention organizers prior to the sessions. (This is why the signs all tended to look alike.) Though the sign "ban" was claimed to be for "security reasons," this seems ridiculous – I believe the convention organizers simply worried that voters might be frightened or offended by what they might read on signs produced by many of the extremely conservative delegates.

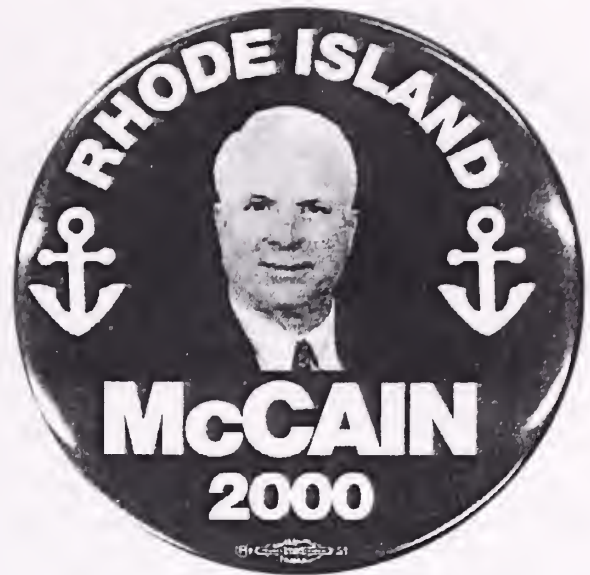
Ultimately, impressions of the events at the First Union Center reflect the continuing sad transformation of conventions from decisive political events to scripted "infomercials" over the last twenty years.



Delegate Bruce Colton, an APIC member, at the 2000 Republican National Convention.

In 1980, the “place to be” was on the convention floor. All of the major network superstars were wandering about the floor. While the Joe Louis Arena where the convention took place had “skyboxes” for the major networks, the concept of scores of luxury skyboxes circling the arena didn’t exist. Whether at the convention or a sporting event, people wanted to be “close to the action,” close to the floor.

In Philadelphia, the First Union Center had several tiers of luxury skyboxes – and that was where the action was. There were very few media superstars down on the convention floor – nothing was happening there. I did frequently see Robert Novak, and occasionally Paul Gigot, wandering about the floor, but most of the media heavyweights stayed up in the skyboxes. The reporters on the floor tended to be the media people from your television stations back home – visiting the floor with one hour, or



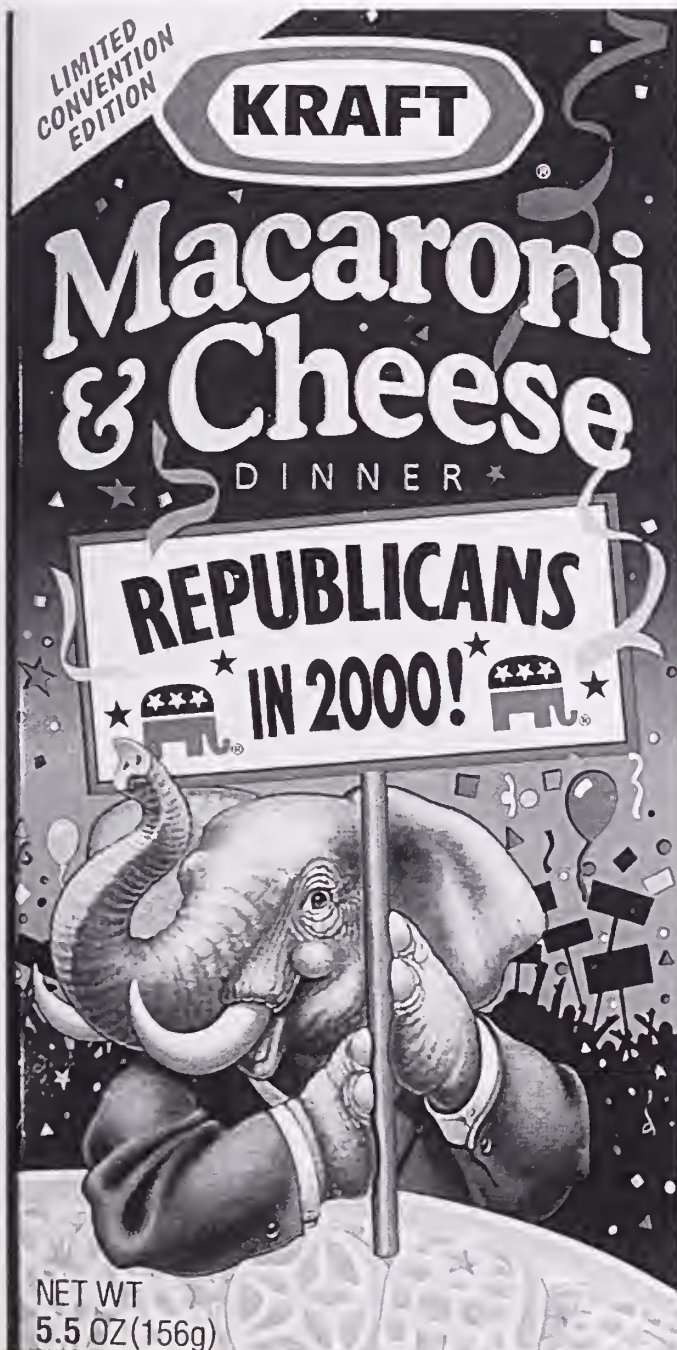
even 15 minute media passes. I did see most of the national media heavyweights – but none of them were on the floor when I saw them.

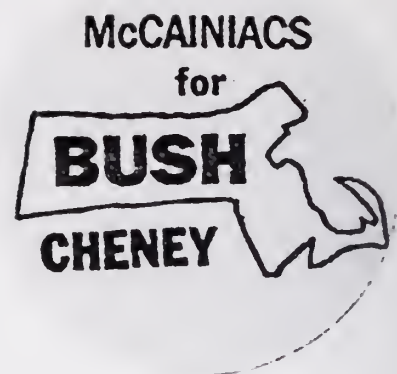
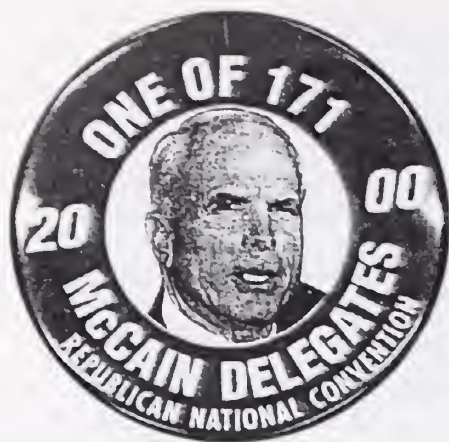
My local TV station interviewed me from one of the media skyboxes. I was also interviewed daily by my local newspaper. (The paper ran five pictures of me in seven days.) Massachusetts was seated near one of the “camera nests,” so we were frequently photographed by network cameras panning the floor.

There was a tremendous difference in our delegation’s seating arrangements at the two conventions. In 1980, the only thing between Massachusetts and the back wall was the Puerto Rican delegation. Guam was seated across the aisle, leading the Boston Globe to headline a story, “Massachusetts to Have Guam’s Eye View of Convention.” In Philadelphia, the only thing between Massachusetts and the podium was the Florida delegation. (Though he was not a member of the delegation, Jeb Bush came out on the floor to cast his state’s votes for his brother. Katherine Harris, who was destined to play such a major role in the election, was an alternate delegate, but, during the convention, she enjoyed complete anonymity outside Florida.)

Massachusetts native Andrew Card, now the White House Chief of Staff, was brought in by the Bush people to run the convention. On the first two nights, he graciously allowed the Massachusetts delegates and alternates up into his skybox so, unlike most of the convention’s delegates and alternates, we got to see “how the other half lives.” Unlike the publicly available food at the convention, which was horrible, the food in the luxury boxes was very good. The sensation of sitting in the open air “porches” of the skyboxes, jutting out over the arena, above the milling delegates, was somewhat reminiscent of ancient Rome.

While security at the Wyndham Franklin Plaza was tight (though not so tight that someone wasn’t able to steal a case of “Convention Delegate Barbie” dolls), there were certain compensations. I saw “G.W.” and Laura, Dick and Lynne Cheney, “George P.,” Karl Rove, Karen Hughes, former Secretary of State George Schultz, and various Bush siblings, nieces, and nephews – all in my hotel lobby. It was rumored that Nancy Reagan stayed in the hotel as well, but





that may not be true. (Though he didn't stay at the hotel, following his stroke, President Ford was hospitalized in Halmemann University Hospital, several hundred feet away.

Each morning, the Massachusetts delegation had breakfast together at our hotel. The delegates were very friendly. There were very few elected officials (above the city or town level) in our delegation – virtually the entire Republican establishment had endorsed “G.W.” When the “McCainiacs” crushed them 65% to 32% in the primary, they were precluded from running for any of the thirty-seven delegate and alternate slots. To prevent internal party squabbling, and to enable our governor and lieutenant governor to go to Philadelphia as delegates, a deal was worked out whereby Senator McCain gave the Bush supporters seven delegates and alternates.

Various “premiums” were passed out to the delegates and alternates at our breakfasts. One of the best was (the aforementioned) “2000 Republican Convention Delegate Barbie.” (I believe that Mattel gave similar dolls to the Democrats in Los Angeles.) Barbie came in four varieties – 25% were Anglo, 25% were African American, 25% were Hispanic, and 25% were Asian American. This made the dolls slightly more diverse than the actual convention delegates. (I got one of the African American Barbies.)

I also liked the Kraft “Limited Convention Edition” boxes of “Republicans in 2000” Macaroni and Cheese Dinner. (The macaroni was shaped like little elephants and stars.)

I always wore a “High Road to Real Reform” McCain button. It had been produced for our western Massachusetts headquarters during the primary. Due to the low priority placed upon our primary following New Hampshire, the McCain campaign concentrated on South Carolina and the larger “Super Tuesday” states, so we were also forced to produce our own bumper stickers. The button's slogan was in response to Governor Bush's South Carolina campaign.

I also usually wore the “One of 171 McCain Delegates” pin. This button, 206 of which were made by Massachusetts delegate Ralph Saulnier to sell to help defray his costs of attending the convention, became, in effect, the unofficial Massachusetts delegation button. Almost everyone wore it all the time. Our Republican State Committee had distributed an “official” delegation button (part of the Bold Concepts set), but its most prominent feature was a picture of Governor Bush in front of a map of Massachusetts, which

greatly diminished its appeal to the McCain delegates. Insofar as most of the Massachusetts delegation came to Philadelphia aboard a chartered “delegate train” (which also carried much of the Rhode Island and Connecticut delegations), the “171 Delegates” button received wide distribution among the New England delegates.

Another McCain button was the “Rhode Island McCain 2000” button, made by one of that state's delegates. I picked one up at a Sunday afternoon reception which the Senator held for his delegates at the Hotel Sofitel.

On the third night of the convention, the “McCainiacs for Bush-Cheney” button was distributed to our delegates. Possibly one of the best convention pins, I am told that only 70 of the buttons were made. Insofar as the button recognized that we had gone to Philadelphia for John McCain, it was also more popular with the delegates than our state committee's “official” button.

To my regret, I didn't get a chance to actually sit down and talk with Senator McCain, though I did get him to autograph a copy of *Faith of My Fathers*. I was also able to give Cindy McCain a few of the “High Road to Real Reform” buttons. She seemed delighted with them.

While Cindy McCain spent a certain amount of time out on the convention floor (she was chairman of the Arizona delegation), the only presidential candidate to visit the floor was Ralph Nader. To the bemusement of the delegates and the confusion of convention security – he was wearing a media badge giving him floor access – Nader appeared in front of the Florida delegation and promptly began giving interviews. I thought it was great.

As a delegate, I essentially had access to everything. Ironically, however, the convention floor wasn't necessarily the best place to go “button hunting.” It seemed that relatively few delegates actually wore delegation buttons, and being at the First Union Center (or in transit to and from it) limited your opportunities to go to various receptions, which may have been better button sources. Even worse, of the relatively few delegates wearing state badges, about half seemed to be wearing badges with their names on them – and these obviously weren't available for trade.

Each night, after the convention adjourned, and the delegates left the floor (it was surprising how quickly they dispersed), I would sweep the floor looking for dropped buttons. Almost all the buttons on the floor were face down – picking them up and turning them over was like scratching

lottery tickets. Several other people had the same idea and each night we would scour the floor!

In addition to the Massachusetts delegation pin, I also managed to acquire the Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Delaware, Indiana, and District of Columbia delegation buttons. The Ohio delegation also had a marvelous wooden train whistle picturing the state party and convention logos with appropriate text.

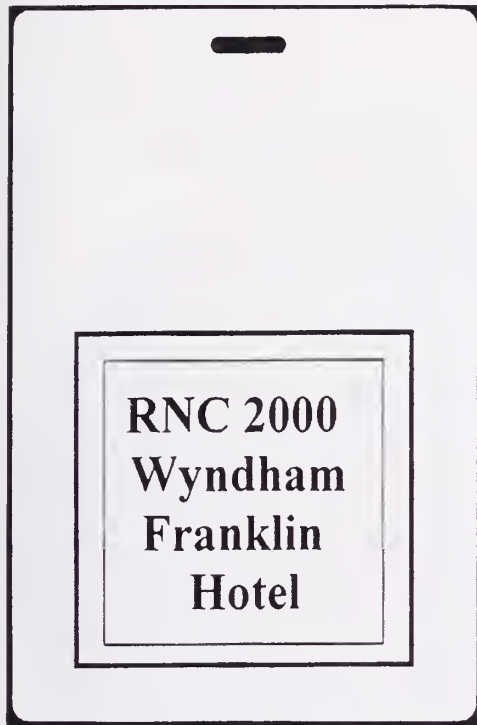
The "W Stands for Women" button was distributed to delegates at the First Union Center on July 31st during "Opportunity with a Purpose: Leave No Child Behind"

night. Matching placards were passed out in the hall. (At least one of the placards was folded in half, turned upside down, and altered to read "M Stands for McCain!")

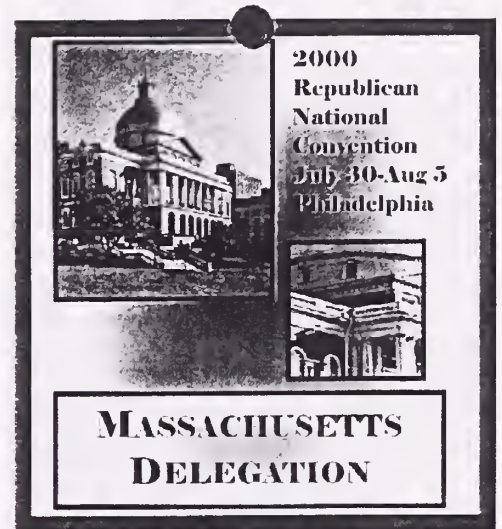
Alan Keyes' 50th birthday occurred during the convention and his supporters threw him a party at the Crowne Plaza Hotel on August 2nd. Among the party favors was an attractive button ("I'm One of a Million...") picturing the candidate.

Any listing of convention-related buttons should begin with the rectangular "Philadelphia Welcomes Republican National Convention 2000" pin picturing the convention logo. These were worn by convention volunteers.

In a political year in which the production of Jewish, Hebrew, or Yiddish themed items reached an historic zenith, the Republican Jewish Coalition issued its "Proud Jewish Republican" button at a reception for governors held at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel on August 2nd. (The pride

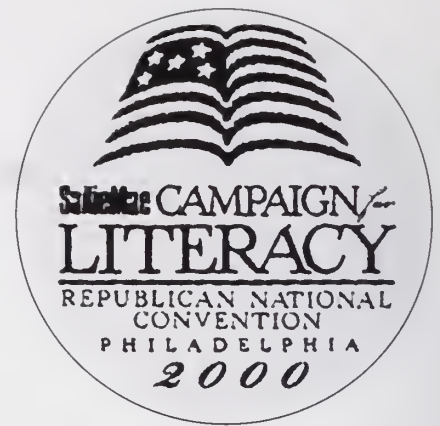


Above: Convention hotel pass.
Below: Convention CD.



Above: Convention delegation pass.
Below: Delegate bus pass.





became somewhat problematic a week later – when Vice President Gore announced his choice for his running mate.)

The U.S. Conference of Mayors issued a battery powered flasher picturing an elephant with the notation “Philadelphia 2000.” It was distributed at their hospitality suite at the First Union Center.

The Sallie Mae Campaign for Literacy issued a convention button as part of a book drive. (I believe that Laura Bush and the wife of Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge were sponsors.) People who donated a book were given a commemorative button with a stylized representation of a book/flag and a reference to the convention.

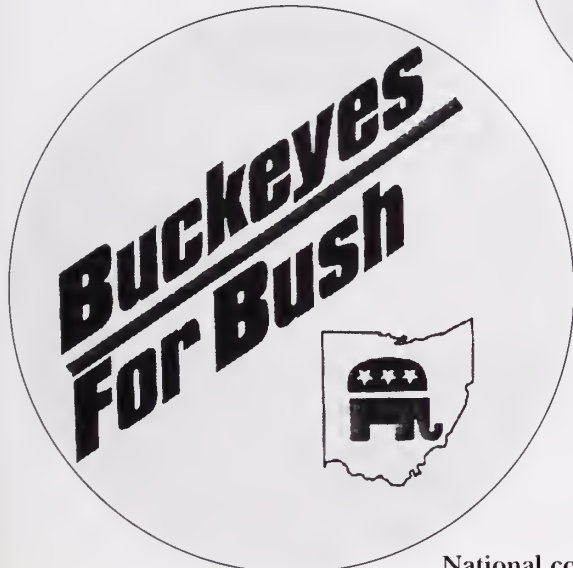
I made several visits to PoliticalFest. I enjoyed it, though it was perhaps more geared to children than I had expected. (Of course, if it gets them interested in history, politics, government service, or even button collecting, it's all to the good.) It was also nice having all the convention vendors at one site. In Detroit, there was also a one site commercial “vendor fest” – my memory is that there was somewhat more variety in the items offered for sale at that convention.

My favorite vendor pin was the G.W. Bush/Harry Potter jugate. This was, in fact, the only Bush pin I wore in Philadelphia. The Bush/Potter jugate was arguably the most popular pin at the convention. Certainly it was the only button I wore that repeatedly caused delegates to come up to me and ask, “Where did you get that button? I have to get it for my children – they'll go crazy over it!” (A matching pin was made with Al Gore for the Democratic Convention.) Other favorite vendor pins were the “Betsy Ross’ Philadelphia/Bush/Republican National Convention” pin and the “General Colin Powell - Secretary of State” buttons.

For me, the convention highlights were the speeches by Colin Powell and John McCain. While Powell's speech didn't top his magnificent effort in San Diego four years earlier, it was the highlight of the first night. McCain's speech, a beautiful sermon on morality and patriotism, was a complete change from his usual campaign oratory. Surprisingly, the most effective oratory of the convention was arguably Dick Cheney's accep-



Various convention buttons. The “A Winning Team” button boosts Virginia Governor Jim Gilmore for VP. Note that the top left button is boosting Colin Powell for Secretary of State even before George W. Bush was elected.



National conventions produce numerous buttons.

tance speech. His slashing, yet elegant, attack on President Clinton was the first speech to bring the entire crowd to life. (Noticeable portions of the audience were cool to Powell and McCain's earlier speeches.) The speeches by George and Laura Bush were roundly applauded. Unfortunately, the other presentations were pretty much an embarrassment.

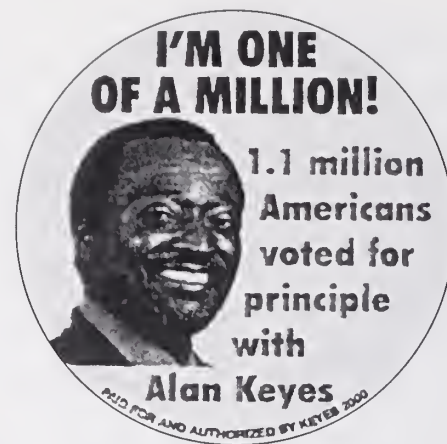
The First Union Center's air conditioning was presumably designed to handle full stands and some sort of sporting event on the floor. Unfortunately, the convention exceeded those specifications. There were five sessions – one morning, four evening – and each one had more and more people. On Monday, delegates could easily wander around the floor. By Thursday, that was impossible. I wore a suit and tie once – after that I was in shirtsleeves and slacks. People foolish enough to wear suits found themselves in their own personal saunas.

The final night's balloon drop was utterly spectacular! Massachusetts was directly underneath one of the drop points, and the balloons just kept coming and coming! By the end, we were chest deep in balloons.

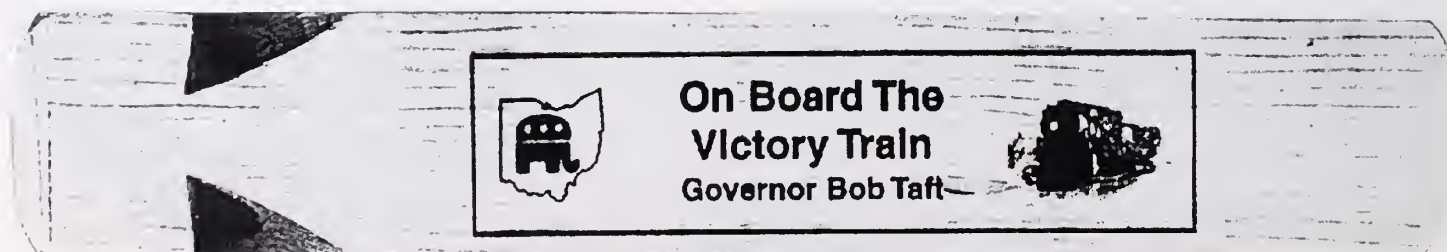
I had never been in Philadelphia before, and wished I had more time to explore it. (In Detroit, the Massachusetts delegation, headquartered about 45 minutes from downtown Detroit, had less opportunity for sightseeing.) There were parties and receptions around the clock. People were usually up until 2:00 A.M. Though I didn't go, I'm told that the opening night boat parade and fireworks display were spectacular. Various tours were set up for the delegation – we saw the Liberty Bell, Betsy Ross's house, and so forth. On my own, I enjoyed the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The College of Physicians of Philadelphia's Mutter Museum (seemingly dedicated to putting the "gross" back into "gross anatomy") had an interesting exhibit on presidential disability. (Its "up close and personal" items included Abraham Lincoln's bloodstained collar, some vertebrae from John Wilkes Booth, a piece of Charles Guiteau's brain, and a cancerous tumor from Grover Cleveland.)

The convention week passed all too quickly. By the time I learned the ropes and figured out how to get the most from the experience, it was too late. It was over.

Friday morning, as everyone checked out of the Wyndham Franklin Plaza, the hotel was only a hotel – the Bushes and their organization had already left. As I stood in line, I thought of Theodore White's comment about the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles as it reverted back to traveling salesmen and tourists following the conclusion of the 1960 Democratic National Convention: "There are no Smolny Institutes or Rue des Jacobins remembered in the political history of Americans – only hotel rooms."★



Below: wooden train whistle given to Ohio delegates by Ohio Governor Bob Taft. Gov. Taft is the great-grandson of President William H. Taft, the grandson of US Senator Robert A. Taft, and the son of US Senator Robert Taft, Jr.



ITEMS OF INTEREST

The Willkie/Cooke Jugate Coattail

By Gary L. Cohen

Candidate: Wendell Willkie
 Item: Button
 Size: 3 1/2"
 Year: 1940
 Mfg. by: Philadelphia Badge Company

Pictured on this page is a 3 1/2" celluloid button. It's existence has only been a rumor for the past twenty years. It has a white background, bordered around the rim with blue and white trim. At the center are blue pictures of the candidates bordered in red ovals. Beneath the ovals is a scrollwork banner with the names of the candidates under their pictures. Across the top in red lettering it reads "REPUBLICAN" and along the bottom is printed "WORKER". There is a 6" red/orange ribbon attached to the back of the button. It has, printed in blue lettering, "WILLKIE FOR PRESIDENT," "JAY COOKE FOR U.S. SENATE" on it's topmost section. Printed diagonally, from left to right, in blue lettering on a white background bordered in blue, is "REPUBLICAN". At the very bottom, again in blue lettering is "WATCHER".

This style of button is definitely that of the Philadelphia Badge Company. The back has a cardboard filler with a "safety pin" type clasp for wearing. The ribbon is embedded behind the cardboard filler.

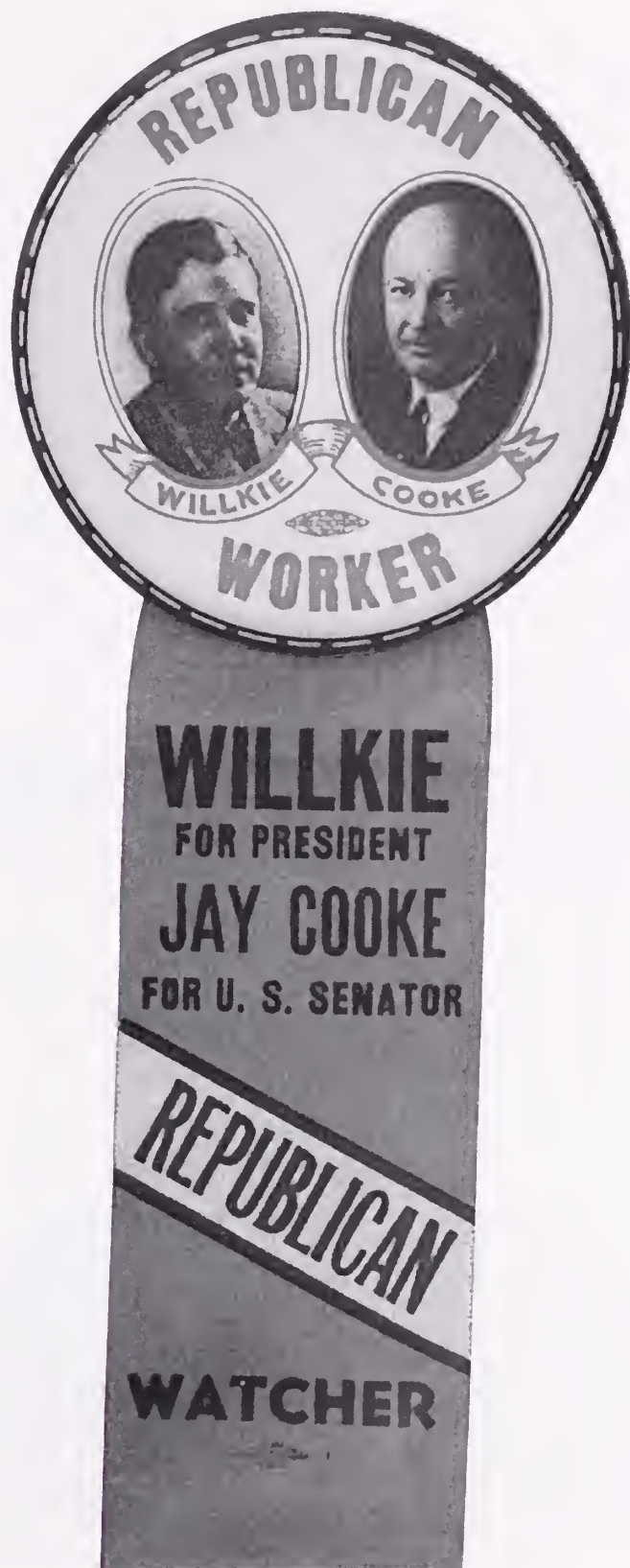
This 1940 button is one of the rarest coattail buttons in the hobby. Both candidates lost their respective bids for political office.

Only one other example of this button is known to be in a collector's possession. This New Jerseyite (who wishes to remain anonymous) for years stated he had one, but would only show it to a select few other collectors. Most Willkie collectors were very surprised to learn of this "newly" found item. The one shown here was purchased along with other items in a collection from an individual in California, who contacted me through my Web Site, www.politicalbuttons.com.

Items like this can always turn up when you least expect it. This alone is the incentive to go to flea markets, antique stores shows, and on-line auction sites to see what is out there.★

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 DON'T MISS THE KEYNOTER!**

Send your change of address information to APIC
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1972: McCloskey for President

(A Keynoter Interview by Richard Rector)

Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, Jr. was born on September 29, 1927. During the Korean War he served in the Marine Corps as a Second Lieutenant in the Fifth Marine Division, receiving the Navy Cross, the Silver Star and a Purple Heart. After the war, he finished his education at Stanford University Law School and went into the practice of law in Northern California.

McCloskey was elected to Congress in a 1967 special election, becoming the first Republican who opposed the Vietnam War elected to Congress. In 1972, he tried to follow in Eugene McCarthy's footsteps and challenge an incumbent President of his own party on a peace platform. He did not succeed. In 1982, he entered an interesting primary for the Republican US Senate nomination; two of the candidates had sought the Presidency in 1972 (McCloskey and 1972 AIP nominee John Schmitz), two would seek the Presidency in 1996 (Bob Dornan and Pete Wilson), and two others were children of presidential candidates (Barry Goldwater, Jr. and Maureen Reagan). Pete Wilson won the primary and then defeated another presidential hopeful (Jerry Brown) in November.

Pete McCloskey made national headlines again during the 1988 Republican Presidential primaries by questioning Pat Robertson's Korean War record.

Keynoter: Why did you seek the Republican Presidential nomination in 1972?

McCloskey: Well, I had boys that were 18 and 16 and I was against the Vietnam War. I challenged [Nixon] in the New Hampshire primary but didn't do very well. I got I think 20% of the vote in New Hampshire, 7% in New Mexico, 8% in Michigan. I dropped out after the New Hampshire Primary but I did get one delegate from the state of New Mexico. I went to the convention, but my [law school] friend, John Ehrlichman, was running the convention. Neither I nor my delegate got onto the floor of the convention. My one vote was cast by my friend and colleague, Congressman Manuel Lujan. The state's vote was loudly announced as "The great state of New Mexico casts 13 votes for the great American Richard Nixon" followed by (sotto voce) "one vote for Paul McCloskey."

Keynoter: What was your strategy for winning the nomination?

McCloskey: Well, I wanted to get a vote in New Hampshire against the war. I didn't expect to be the President of the United States. I really wanted to get enough of a vote against

Keynoter: Can you tell us about your election to Congress in 1967?

McCloskey: It was a special election. There were seven Democratic candidates and four Republican candidates. The Democrats had a distinguished group but the Republicans had Shirley Temple Black, Bill Draper, and Sheriff Earl Whitmore, who had been elected four times in the county and was the early favorite until Shirley Temple entered the race. Then she became the odds-on favorite. Ultimately, I nosed her out in the primary and then went on to beat the Democratic candidate. I was sworn in December. Having been the first Republican elected opposing the Vietnam War, I went to Vietnam shortly thereafter to see what was happening.

Keynoter: What were your greatest accomplishments as a Member of Congress?

McCloskey: Oh, I don't know that I had any great accomplishments. I was the Co-Chairman of the first Earth Day in 1970. I made the first speech to impeach Nixon. I led the effort against the Vietnam War. I was involved in a lot of the environmental legislation in the early '70's, but I didn't have any great accomplishments. I served there 15 years Republicans were in the minority all 15 of those years, so [chuckle] I can't really say that I accomplished a hell of a lot.

"Why I make the Challenge"

Congressman 'Pete' McCLOSKEY

I think it essential, to the American system of government, particularly in a time of crisis in confidence in that government, that dissenting views be presented clearly and squarely for decision by those who are governed.

The earliest possible opportunity for decision in this case lies in the Republican primaries of 1972.



Tabloid campaign newspaper.

the Vietnam War, as McCarthy had in 1968 that forced Lyndon Johnson to rethink the war policy. Now we had a Republican President and it was clear that he was going to keep going with the war unless somebody challenged him. Nobody else would. I tried to talk Chuck Percy of Illinois and John Lindsay of New York; I tried to talk Mark Hatfield of Oregon, all of whom were against the war. But nobody wanted to challenge Nixon. Since nobody else would, I did. I had just come back from my third trip to Vietnam. I was appalled at the war we were waging in Vietnam and what it was doing to my old service, the Marine Corps. I just thought the war was an atrocity and somebody had to challenge him.

Keynoter: Given what we now know about the dirty tricks activity of the Committee To Re-elect the President (CREEP), were there any dirty tricks against you?

McCloskey: Yeah. [laughs] They wiretapped my office and burglarized my campaign headquarters, tried to do dirty tricks dur-

ing the campaign. Pat Buchanan wrote a memo to the President saying they thought they ought to send a person up to give me \$1,000 from the Gay Liberation Front. If they got a receipt from my treasurer saying that the Gay Liberation Front had given \$1,000, that would hurt me. Buchanan was a dirty fighter then and I think remains so.

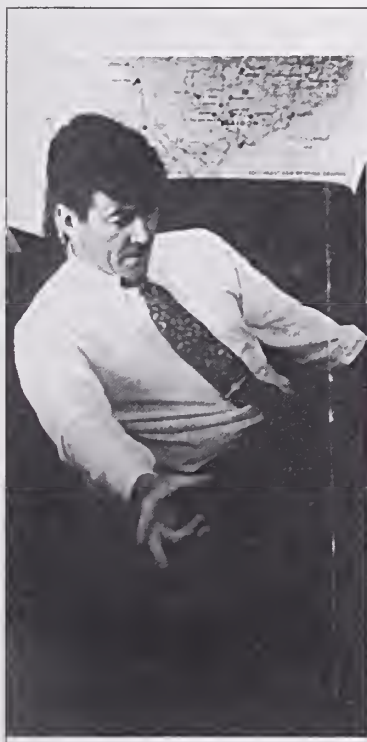
Keynoter: Speaking of Pat Buchanan, How would you compare his 1992 challenge to President Bush to your 1972 challenge to President Nixon?

McCloskey: The Bush Presidency was a lot more honorable Presidency than the Nixon Presidency. George Bush was a very decent man. Buchanan wanted Bush to be more conservative. But Buchanan is a...he's sort of...[chuckle]...well I don't know how to describe Buchanan.

Keynoter: You were not the only one challenging President Nixon. Congressman John Ashbrook of Ohio was also in the

McCloskey Volunteers

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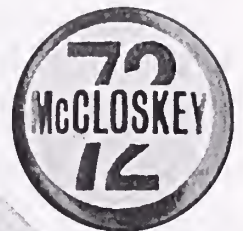



Paul McCloskey leadership as tough as the problems

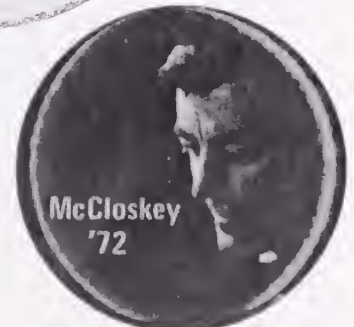
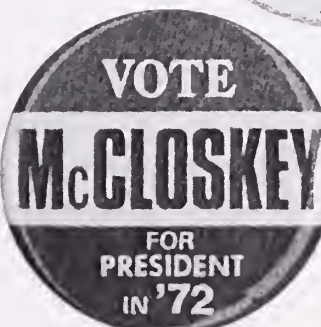
...Republicans and Independents of New Hampshire can begin, on March 7th, to elect the straight talking President our Nation needs.

If you wonder if a battle like this is worth supporting ...think what it would mean to win it...

McCLOSKEY



McCLOSKEY
'72



Middle of page: Campaign letterhead. Lower left: Brochure.

Lower right: Buttons (the top three are official campaign buttons, the bottom two are vendor items).

race. What effect did his candidacy have?

McCloskey: Well, John was concerned that if a liberal Republican were running against Nixon, it would force him away from the conservative position; so Ashbrook got in. He got 10% of the vote [in New Hampshire]. I think Nixon got about 70. I got 20 and Ashbrook got 10.

Keynoter: Movie star Paul Newman campaigned for you in New Hampshire. Any memories of that you can share?

McCloskey: Paul was a marvelous guy. He was against the war and rather quietly volunteered to help. He came up to New Hampshire and gave six days of his life to campaign on my behalf. We would put a big poster on the town hall door and say, "Next Sunday, February 12, Paul Newman will be here" with a big picture of Paul. Underneath it would be a very little picture of me and the words "with Republican Presidential Candidate Pete McCloskey." The women of New Hampshire turned out in large numbers to see Paul Newman and he would make a little speech and introduce me and I'd make a speech, then we would go on to the next town. But we had to put a guard around his motel at night. There were a lot of women that would have liked to break into that motel room.

Keynoter: You stated that if you got 20% of the vote in New Hampshire that you would continue your campaign. You got 20% but dropped out anyway. Why?

McCloskey: Well, actually I was just short. I got I think 19.97% or something. I don't think I would have done any better anywhere else. Nixon went to China two weeks before that election and managed to divert the issue from Vietnam to his visit to China. It was fairly clear that, while I could generate some sup-

IMAGINE HAVING AN OLD-FASHIONED, TOUGH, STRAIGHT-TALKING AMERICAN IDEALIST FOR PRESIDENT

The country is in a crisis. The President is a failure. Nixon is a failure. The country is in a crisis. The President is a failure. Nixon is a failure. The country is in a crisis. The President is a failure. Nixon is a failure.

THE PLAN

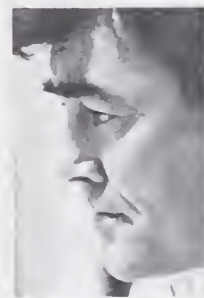
- Win an election in New Hampshire
- Pick up enough votes to win delegates to the Republican National Convention
- Get all out and beat the Reagan bid down in California
- Present to the Republican Convention an August 1972 possible alternative to the Nixon-Kissinger-Mohr program

Pete McCloskey, Jr. is a man who stands for what he believes in. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs.

He stands for the traditional American ideal of truth, character and peace. He believes that a President is not a moral leader. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs. And it is a guarantee of a free society that the people have the right to elect their own leaders. And if an administration disregards the law...

THE PURPOSE

- End the war throughout Eastern Europe
- Restore the economy to a peacetime basis
- Restore truth and justice to government
- Assert moral leadership to racial problems
- Restore political excellence and moral reference with judicial process
- Make deeper commitments to action, environmental, moral development
- Admit there are no easy answers, tell the people the truth so the people can help solve problems themselves



Pete McCloskey, Jr. is a man who stands for what he believes in. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs.

Pete McCloskey, Jr. is a man who stands for what he believes in. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs. He stands for the traditional American ideal of truth, character and peace. He believes that a President is not a moral leader. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs. And it is a guarantee of a free society that the people have the right to elect their own leaders. And if an administration disregards the law...

PAUL NEWMAN CAMPAIGNED FOR PETE MCCLOSKEY

A man like Pete McCloskey is needed. He is a man who stands for what he believes in. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs. He stands for the traditional American ideal of truth, character and peace. He believes that a President is not a moral leader. He is a man who is not afraid to stand up for his beliefs. And it is a guarantee of a free society that the people have the right to elect their own leaders. And if an administration disregards the law...

THE MAN

- Born 1927, California
- Graduate Stanford University (1950)
- Married, four children
- U.S. Marine Corps, Korea. As combat commander earned six medals, received Navy Cross, Silver Star, Purple Heart
- Elected to Congress 1967. Re-elected 1968, 1970. From McGovern-Bairdfield, for Congress-Church, for environmental action, for reform of security system, for ending military aid to R. for opposing housing against ABM, against NIE against Lockheed loan
- Described by friends as "the last great American" - Chicago words and concepts like Duty, Honor, Integrity, Loyalty
- From Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

Please give us your support and help. It is vital.

A man like Pete McCloskey is needed.

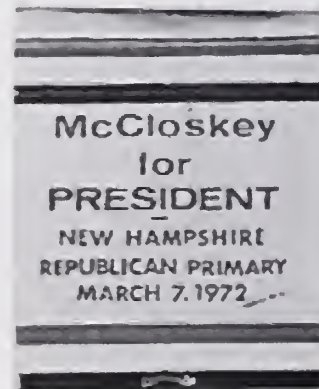
McCloskey Volunteers



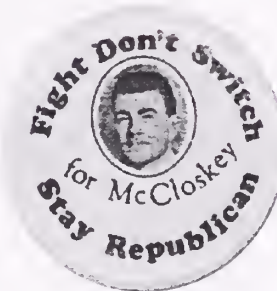
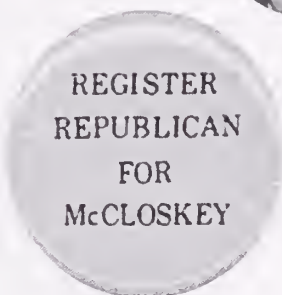
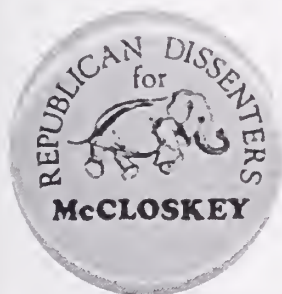
VISIT SCENIC NEW HAMPSHIRE

Special Features: cold weather, long hours, sleeping bags on floors, peanut butter sandwiches, and a primary Richard Nixon can't afford to lose.

For information contact: **MCCLOSKEY FOR PRESIDENT**
104 North Main St., Concord, N.H. 603-224-1966
Ask for Bruce or Cathy



The McCloskey effort was almost entirely focused on the New Hampshire primary.



port against the war, I was not going to win the nomination. So I dropped out after New Hampshire. I was still on the ballot I think in seven or eight states, which led subsequently to getting one [delegate] vote out of New Mexico.

Keynoter: Can you give us your perspective on Watergate and the rise of your fellow House Republican Gerald Ford to the presidency?

McCloskey: Well, Ford got to be president because Nixon's Vice President, Spiro Agnew, was found to be guilty of taking bribes when he was Governor of Maryland. When Agnew resigned, the President could nominate the new Vice President but the House of Representatives and the Senate had to give their consent. They asked everybody in the House to make three nominations as to whom we thought should be the next Vice President. I named Nelson Rockefeller, Gerald Ford and George Bush. All three ultimately became Vice President and Bush and Ford became President.

Jerry Ford was Nixon's selection but had a little trouble over in the Senate. I was one of three Republican members of the House who went over and testified in front of the Senate when they were considering Ford's nomination as Vice President. I testified that I thought that Ford was one of the most decent men and honorable men on the Republican side that I had known. Jerry Ford and I



Specter at the feast

were friends. When he became President, I supported him when Reagan challenged him in 1976 for the nomination.

Keynoter: During the 1988 Presidential campaign, you made national headlines again arguing with Pat Robertson over his Korean War record. Can you tell us your side of the story?

McCloskey: Ha! In January 1951, I was on a ship going to Korea. It was called "The fifth replacement draft" and we were going in after the Chosin Reservoir where the first Marine Division had been pretty badly chewed up. This young, jaunty, genial Pat Robertson kept saying, "I'm not going into combat with you fellows. My daddy's a U.S. Senator and he's going to keep me out of combat." We all laughed at him and said, "Come on Pat, this is the fifth replacement draft. We're all going to Korea. They need us, we are out of second lieutenants over there." Well, sure enough, when the ship got to Japan, Robertson went ashore, radioed his Dad and said, "Help, I've been assigned to the fifth Marines." Sure enough, the day that we left Japan for Korea (Valentine's Day 1951), a Colonel came down from Tokyo and pulled Robertson off the ship and kept him in Japan with five other Lieutenants, allegedly to train casualties coming out of the hospital. Robertson stayed in Japan for four months. In those four months, the other Lieutenants nearly all were killed or wounded in Korea. Finally, in early June one of the Lieutenants that had been kept back wanted to go to Korea. He went to the commanding general, who was passing through Japan, and said, "Hey, sir, you say they need Lieutenants. There are six of us here who haven't been to Korea." The next day, all but Robertson went to Korea. He followed about a week later. When he got to Korea, they didn't send him up to a rifle platoon

like the other Lieutenants. They made him the division liquor officer and he went to Japan once a week and brought back booze. He never got forward of the division CP [Command Post] and he never heard a shot fired in anger.

In about 1988 he started a run for the Presidency and said that Bush was "soft on Communism" and wasn't right wing enough. I told this story. It got to the press and Robertson sued me for \$35 million. On the eve of the trial was the South Carolina Primary. By that time, Robertson was running second to Bush and it looked like he was going to get a lot of delegates. He had a choice: either drop the lawsuit and allow me to win it or go to trial. Well, he agonized over that on public television for a week or so. Finally said, "I think the presidency is too important. I'm going to dismiss the suit against Mr. McCloskey." When he did that, they asked me what I thought. I said, "I think he's chickening out of going to trial, just like he chickened out of Korea." That got a big laugh. The next day he went down in the South Carolina Primary and the following Tuesday, which was Super Tuesday, I don't think he won a single primary. He was thoroughly discredited and dropped out of the race. I got a nice note from George Bush thanking me for bringing out the truth.

Keynoter: In discussing this in an earlier Keynoter interview, Pat Robertson stated that you were "pretty much an anti-Semite." What is your response to that?

McCloskey: Ha! Robertson? Well, that's a joke. He has been pretty upset. We were on the same ship together; I went to Korea and got a couple of purple hearts and he dodged combat. It's too bad. You know he has got a lot of charisma. If he had gone



The campaign of 1972 was the first in which vendor buttons made for the collectors' market outnumbered items issued by the campaign. All of these buttons were made by Dick Bristow. Many exist in multiple versions with different background colors.

to Korea and survived as a platoon leader, he might have been the president.

Keynoter: In 1973, you said that you were planning to stick with the Republican Party and "Fight the good fight." Are you still "fighting the good fight"?

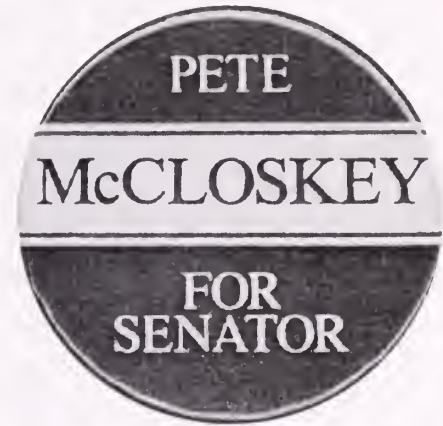
McCloskey: I help people that run for office, Republican or Democrat. I have a great deal of respect for Jim Jeffords. Jim and I worked together when we were in the House. When he was in the Senate, we were the co-chairmen of the House and Senate Conference Committee on Environment. I think Jim Jeffords is the kind of guy that is really making the good fight. You can do a lot to effect the government of the United States and the political system as a private individual and I've spoken out against the Israeli policies and against the Palestinians. That's probably why Pat Robertson says you are anti-Semitic, if you disagree with Israel. I don't think anybody else has ever said that I was anti-Semitic including the Jewish community. Robertson is just... he's a phony.

Keynoter: Would you like to hear his full comment on this?

McCloskey: Sure!

Keynoter: The full quote is as follows: "Well, it's very simple; I served in Korea. I have three battle stars for combat in Korea. I was with a combat division. I was at their forward command post and to make a charge that I somehow ducked military service because of my father's influence was absurd. McCloskey just didn't know what he was talking about. He's the man who is pretty much an anti-Semite and, remember, he ran against Nixon for the Republican nomination. He was always looked upon as sort of a gadfly. But the media seized on that and it just wasn't true. I have my service record to prove it." [For full text, see *The Keynoter*, Winter 2001].

McCloskey: They give a combat star if you are in a unit that is in combat. The First Marine Division was in combat but the only people in the division that were in combat were the riflemen, the artillery forward observers and the pilots. But the division CP was way back behind our own artillery. The division CP was always far enough back that it was never in combat and Pat



In 1982 McCloskey competed for the Republican Senate nomination against three other presidential hopefuls (John Schmitz, Bob Dornan and Pete Wilson), and the children of two presidential nominees (Barry Goldwater, Jr. and Maureen Reagan). Wilson won the nomination and the seat.

knows that. Combat stars are given if you serve in the division CP. He just lied about it. In his autobiography, *Shout It From The Houselops*, he said that he had been a "combat Marine in Korea." Well, a Marine doesn't use the term "combat." A man might say, "I was on Guadalcanal" or "I was on Iwo Jima" and the rest of us would say, "That man has been in combat." But combat is an important word. You don't find a combat veteran referring to himself as a combat veteran. Only a guy who hasn't been in combat will make that kind of a claim. He was never in combat. He knows that he was never in combat. You have to be shot at to be in combat. It's typical; he's just a fraud.

Keynoter: Thank you.

The evidence of McCloskey's case is presented in his Korean War memoir, *The Taking Of Hill 610*. For more on McCloskey's presidential bid, read *The McCloskey Challenge* by Lou Cannon or *O, Congress* by former congressman and senator Don Riegle of Michigan.★

Bush & Cheney Congressional Buttons

In the last issue (Volume 2001, Number 3), we featured some items from the congressional campaigns of President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney. The items pictured here were sent in since then. All three are from 1978. The two Bush congressional buttons are from the collection of Ben Guttery and the Cheney button (worn by Cheney himself during his first 1978 congressional race) is from Dick Fenno.



